

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11  
IO-13 ACDA-12 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /092 W  
-----096132 131257Z /41

R 121540Z MAY 78  
FM USMISSION USBERLIN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6830  
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION USNATO  
AMCONSUL BREMEN  
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF  
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT  
AMCONSUL HAMBURG  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
AMCONSUL STUTTGART

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USBERLIN 1143

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PERP, WB, GW, UR  
SUBJECT: BERLIN REACTION TO BREZHNEV VISIT

REF: (A) USBERLIN 1111, (B) USBERLIN 1025, (C) BERLIN 3205

SUMMARY: WEST BERLIN PRESS GAVE EXTENSIVE COVERAGE TO  
BREZHNEV VISIT TO BONN. MOST REPORTING HAS BEEN FACTUAL IF  
DOWNBEAT. MOST LEADING PAPERS EXPRESSED EDITORIAL DISSATIS-  
FACTION WITH TRIP IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. REACTION OF BERLIN POLI-  
TICIANS FOLLOWED PREDICTABLE PATTERN. GOVERNING MAYOR STOBBE  
PUBLICLY THANKED BONN GOVERNMENT FOR REPRESENTING BERLIN'S  
INTERESTS WHILE CDU CHAIRMAN PETER LORENZ VOICED HIS COMPLETE  
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DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE VISIT WHICH HE SEES AS HAVING HAD ONLY  
NEGATIVE RESULTS FOR BERLIN. LORENZ REPORTED THAT CDU CHAIRMAN  
KOHL HAD BEEN REBUFFED BY BREZHNEV ON BERLIN QUESTIONS.  
LORENZ WAS ALSO CRITICAL OF FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS' PUBLIC  
OPTIMISM FOLLOWING HIS MEETING WITH BREZHNEV. SOVIET  
DIPLOMAT HERE MADE POSITIVE ASSESSMENT OF VISIT AND  
DOWNPLAYED IMPORTANCE OF BREZHNEV MEETING WITH STRAUSS.

END SUMMARY.

1. TWO TAGESSPIEGEL EDITORIALS BY JOACHIM BOELKE WERE TYPICAL OF THE MUTED, EVEN NEGATIVE, REACTION OF BERLIN'S PRESS. IN "THE OLD FORMULA WARMED OVER" MAY 6, BOELKE NOTED THAT FRG PRESS SPOKESMAN HAD TOLD THE PRESS THAT THE SOVIETS HAD MADE CLEAR THAT EXPANDED FEDERAL PRESENCE IN BERLIN WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE AND THAT THE SOVIETS COULD NOT BE COMPELLED TO RECOGNIZE OR ACCEPT TIES BETWEEN THE FRG AND BERLIN ON THE TERMS DEMANDED BY BONN. AT THE SAME TIME, TAGESSPIEGEL EDITORIAL NOTED, THE BONN GOVERNMENT PRESS SPOKESMAN REPORTED THAT CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT WAS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE BERLIN QUESTION FOLLOWING HIS TALKS WITH BREZHNEV. HOW, THE EDITORIAL CONTINUES, CAN THAT BE POSSIBLE? THE EDITORIAL ALSO NOTED THAT SPD BUNDESTAG CAUCUS CHAIRMAN HERBERT WEHNER HAD PUBLICLY RECALLED CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT'S REMARK MADE AT THE HELSINKI CSCE FINAL ACT SIGNING THAT ONE SHOULD NOT OVERLOAD THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT. TAGESSPIEGEL WRITES THAT NO SERIOUS POLITICIAN WOULD SEEK TO DESTROY ALL THAT WHICH HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN THE LAST FEW YEARS BY STRETCHING QA'S PROVISIONS BEYOND THEIR LIMITS. ON THE OTHER HAND, TAGESSPIEGEL CONCLUDES, THE SOVIETS, TOO, MUST AGREE TO LIVE BY THE PROVISION OF THE QA EVEN IF THEY DO NOT LIKE THEM ANYMORE TODAY THAN THEY DID WHEN THEY SIGNED THEM IN 1971.

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2. IN THE SECOND TAGESSPIEGEL EDITORIAL (MAY 11) ENTITLED "JUST LIKE IN 1973", BOELKE RECALLS THAT AS FAR BACK AS IN 1973 WEHNER WARNED THAT BERLIN COULD BECOME A STUMBLING BLOCK IN FRG-SOVIET RELATIONS WERE THE WEST TO SEEK TO GET TOO MUCH OUT OF THE QA. FEW PEOPLE WOULD ARGUE THAT POINT, TAGESSPIEGEL CONTINUES. ON THE OTHER HAND, BOELKE WRITES, IT IS REGRETTABLE THAT WEHNER HAS VOICED DOUBTS ABOUT THE PROPRIETY OF GOVERNING MAYOR STOBBE'S ASSUMPTION OF BUNDESRAT PRESIDENT THIS FALL. IT IS ALMOST AS IF WEHNER, SPEAKING IN BERLIN AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE BREZHNEV VISIT, WISHED TO CREATE THE IMPRESSION THAT IT IS A SHAME THAT THE CONDITIONS AND PROVISIONS OF THE QA HAD NOT BEEN MORE NARROWLY DRAWN.

3. NORMALLY PRO-SPD SPANDAUER VOLKSBLATT GAVE SIMILAR "BEARISH" ANALYSIS OF BREZHNEV VISIT. SPANDAUER VOLKSBLATT DREW CONCLUSION THAT FOLLOWING BREZHNEV VISIT, THE MOST ONE COULD HOPE FOR WITH RESPECT TO BERLIN WOULD BE TO PRESERVE THE STATUS QUO. THERE APPEARS NO POSSIBILITY THAT TIES WITH THE FRG CAN BE EXPANDED WITHOUT CHALLENGES. SPANDAUER VOLKSBLATT GOES ON, HOWEVER, TO NOTE THAT

THERE APPEARS TO BE GREATER FLEXIBILITY AND ROOM FOR  
MOVEMENT ON THE SUBJECTS OF DISARMAMENT AND IN THE  
ECONOMIC AND TRADE SPHERES. SPANDAUER VOLKSBLATT COMMENTS  
ALMOST SOURLY THAT ONLY THE UNIFORMED COULD REALLY HAVE

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R 121540Z MAY 78  
FM USMISSION USBERLIN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6831  
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 USBERLIN 1143

BEEN DISAPPOINTED THAT THE BREZHNEV VISIT PRODUCED NO  
CONCRETE POSITIVE RESULTS FOR BERLIN. THOSE IN  
THE KNOW, THE PAPER WROTE, HAVE BEEN AWARE FOR A VERY  
LONG TIME THAT THE BREZHNEV VISIT TO THE RHINE WOULD BRING  
NOTHING FOR THE SPREE. THE OLD FORMULA ABOUT THE NEED  
FOR A "STRICT OBSERVATION AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION"  
OF THE QA REMAINS AN EMPTY FORMULA AS MUCH TODAY AS WHEN  
IT WAS NEGOTIATED DURING BRANDT'S VISIT TO MOSCOW IN 1973.  
SPANDAUER VOLKSBLATT CONCLUDES WITH THE OBSERVATION THAT  
THERE WAS VERY LITTLE EVIDENCE OF THE GREAT OPTIMISM  
WHICH MARKED THE 1973 BREZHNEV VISIT TO BONN. HOWEVER,  
EVEN THOUGH THERE WAS NOTHING CONCRETE TO POINT TO,  
SPANDAUER VOLKSBLATT AGREES WITH SOME OTHER OBSERVERS  
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WHO FEEL THAT THE VISIT MAY HAVE BEEN WORTH THE TROUBLE SIMPLY BECAUSE IT HAPPENED. THE ONE OTHER POSSIBLE POSITIVE RESULT FROM THE VISIT, THE PAPER WRITES, IS THAT THE FRG HAD THE CHANCE TO IMPRESS UPON THE SOVIETS THE KEY ROLE WHICH BERLIN PLAYS IN SHAPING THE FUTURE COURSE OF FRG-SOVIET RELATIONS AND FOR THE CONTINUATION OF DETENTE POLICIES.

4. TRADITIONALLY CONSERVATIVE ORIENTED NEWSPAPERS WITH WIDE BERLIN CIRCULATION (BERLINER MORGENPOST, DIE WELT, BZ) FOUND LITTLE OR NOTHING POSITIVE TO WRITE ABOUT THE VISIT. THE VIEWS OF THESE PAPERS WERE PERHAPS SUMMED UP IN A BY-LINED ARTICLE BY CDU CHAIRMAN PETER LORENZ IN MORGENPOST. LORENZ DREW ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT NOTHING CONCRETE WAS GAINED FOR WEST BERLIN AS A RESULT OF THE BREZHNEV VISIT. LORENZ WROTE THAT HE DID NOT SEE IT AS A COINCIDENCE THAT HERBERT WEHNER HAD CAUTIONED ONLY A FEW DAYS AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE BREZHNEV VISIT THAT THE QA MUST NOT BE OVERLOADED (REF A), NOR DID LORENZ THINK IT SURPRISING THAT CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT VIRTUALLY APOLOGIZED TO THE SOVIETS THAT THE SPD BUNDESTAG CAUCUS HELD A MEETING IN BERLIN MAY 8 & 9. (COMMENT: SCHMIDT ANNOUNCED IN PUBLIC AT THE OUTSET OF THE CAUCUS MEETING THAT THE SPD'S PRESENCE IN BERLIN SHOULD NOT BE SEEN AS A DEMONSTRATIVE ACT FOLLOWING THE VISIT OF BREZHNEV; IT WAS ONLY A COINCIDENCE (REINER ZUFALL) THAT THE MEETING, WHICH HAD BEEN SCHEDULED WELL IN ADVANCE OF THE BREZHNEV VISIT, HAPPENED TO OCCUR WHEN IT DID.) LORENZ CRITICIZED THE COALITION GOVERNMENT IN BONN FOR HAVING FAILED TO STAND UP FOR BERLIN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE QA AND FOR FAILING TO ESTABLISH CLARITY OVER DISPUTED QA PROVISIONS.

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5. ALL WEST BERLIN DAILIES GAVE COVERAGE TO GOVERNING MAYOR STOBBE STATEMENT ISSUED FOLLOWING BREZHNEV'S VISIT THANKING CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT AND FRG FOR HAVING SO DILIGENTLY REPRESENTED THE INTERESTS OF BERLIN IN TALKS WITH SOVIETS. STOBBE ALSO ONCE AGAIN DEVELOPED INTERESTING FORMULA WITH RESPECT TO BERLIN'S ROLE IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. ON TWO OCCASIONS WHEN ADDRESSING THE SPD BUNDESTAG CAUCUS MEETING AT THE REICHSTAG, STOBBE REPEATED THE WELL-WORN FORMULA THAT THE TERMS OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT MUST BE STRICTLY OBSERVED AND FULLY IMPLEMENTED. HE THEN ADDED THAT

BERLIN SHOULD NOT BECOME A HINDRANCE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-FRG RELATIONS. STOBBE'S FORMULATION IS NOT NEW; HE OUTLINED IT IN SOME DETAIL IN HIS AUGUST 10, 1977 EUROPA ARCHIV ARTICLE ON BERLIN. IN LIGHT OF WEHNER'S REMARKS, AND COMING ON THE HEELS OF THE BREZHNEV VISIT, IT TAKES ON A NEW QUALITY, HOWEVER.

6. IN PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL CONVERSATION WITH U.S. SENAT LIAISON OFFICER MAY 10, LORENZ EXPRESSED EVEN GREATER DISSATISFACTION OVER THE RESULTS OF THE BREZHNEV VISIT THAN HE PUT IN HIS ARTICLE. LORENZ SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT POLITICALLY STOBBE HAD TO MAKE POSITIVE NOISES ABOUT THE FRG'S REPRESENTATION OF BERLIN'S INTERESTS DURING THE BREZHNEV VISIT. HE FOUND, HOWEVER, STOBBE'S STATEMENT (PARA 5 ABOVE) TO BE UNDULY EFFUSIVE, CONSIDERING THAT NOTHING WAS GAINED FOR BERLIN AND PERHAPS MUCH MAY HAVE BEEN LOST. LORENZ SAID THAT IN MEETING WITH NATIONAL CDU CHAIRMAN HELMUT KOHL, BREZHNEV HAD BEEN UNBELIEVABLY RUDE AND ABRUPT WHEN IT CAME TO THE QUESTIONS OF BERLIN AND GERMAN REUNIFICATION. KOHL TOLD LORENZ THAT WHEN HE ATTEMPTED

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6832  
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
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TO RAISE THE BERLIN QUESTION, BREZHNEV CUT HIM OFF BURSCLY AND REFUSED TO DISCUSS THE MATTER. LATER WHEN KOHL TOLD BREZHNEV THAT THE RUSSIANS SHOULD HAVE MORE UNDERSTANDING FOR THE DESIRE OF MANY GERMANS TO INTENSIFY NORMAL HUMAN CONTACTS WITH CITIZENS OF THE GDR, AND THAT THE DESIRE FOR REUNIFICATION WAS A NORMAL ATTITUDE, BREZHNEV BLUNTLY TOLD KOHL THAT THE DIVISION OF GERMANY AND THE LOSS OF BERLIN WERE CONSEQUENCES OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR WITH WHICH GERMANS MUST LEARN TO LIVE. BREZHNEV THEN REFUSED TO DISCUSS THE MATTER FURTHER. LORENZ TOLD U.S. SLO THAT SCU CHAIRMAN FRANZ JOSEPH STRAUSS APPARENTLY NEVER RAISED THE QUESTIONS OF BERLIN OR REUNIFICATION WITH BREZHNEV, BUT THEN HAD THE TEMERITY TO EMERGE FROM CONFIDENTIAL

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HIS DISCUSSIONS AND TELL THE PUBLIC THAT HE SAW REASON FOR OPTIMISM FOR BERLIN AND FUTURE GERMAN-SOVIET RELATIONS. LORENZ HEAPED SCORN ON STRAUSS FOR HIS PERFORMANCE, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF BREZHNEV'S TREATMENT OF HELMUT KOHL.

7. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, LORENZ EXPRESSED GRAVE CONCERN OVER THE REMARKS MADE BY HERBERT WEHNER (PARAS 1 AND 2 ABOVE AND REF A). LORENZ CONCLUDED THAT THERE WAS NO REASON FOR OPTIMISM OVER BERLIN AS A RESULT OF THE BREZHNEV VISIT. IT APPEARED TO HIM THAT THE FRG HAD DONE NOTHING ON BERLIN'S BEHALF AND INDEED HAD ENTERED INTO A 25-YEAR ECONOMIC COOPERATION PACT AND HAD SHOWN A WILLINGNESS TO BE FLEXIBLE ON DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS WITHOUT DEMANDING ANY QUID PRO QUO. LORENZ FOUND IT INCONCEIVABLE THAT THE FRG HAD NOT INSISTED ON THE SIGNING OF AT LEAST ONE OF THE OUTSTANDING BERLIN TREATIES, OR SOUGHT SOME OTHER BERLIN CONCESSIONS FROM THE SOVIETS IN EXCHANGE FOR THE ECONOMIC COOPERATION PACT AND EXPRESSED INTEREST IN COOPERATING ON DISARMAMENT ISSUES.

8. COMMENT: THE ONLY HINT WHICH WE HAVE SEEN OR HEARD THAT THE FRG MAY HAVE GOTTEN SOMETHING FROM THE SOVIETS ON BERLIN WAS IN A MAY 10 COMMENTARY IN DIE WELT BY FRIEDHELM KEMNA. IN AN OTHERWISE DOWNBEAT ARTICLE, KEMNA HINTS THAT THE FRG HAS COME TO EXPECT THAT THE SOVIETS WILL NOT MAKE TROUBLE ABOUT THE BERLIN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE EC PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND WILL NOT COMPLAIN UNDULY ABOUT STOBBE'S ASSUMPTION OF THE BUNDESRAT PRESIDENCY, ALTHOUGH KEMNA WRITES, THE SOVIETS WILL WATCH STOBBE'S ACTIVITIES VERY CAREFULLY DURING HIS TERM IN OFFICE. WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER KEMNA BASED HIS COMMENTS ON INSIDE INFORMATION ON THE BREZHNEV VISIT

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OR WHETHER THEY REPRESENT STRAWS IN THE WIND WHICH HE HAS PICKED UP FROM SENAT INSIDERS. (SEE, FOR EXAMPLE, COMMENTS MADE BY SENAT CHANCELLERY HEAD HEIMANN, PARA 5 REF A.) THE ONLY OTHER BERLIN DEVELOPMENT WHICH WE CAN SEE TO BE AS A POSSIBLE RESULT OF BREZHNEV'S VISIT IS THE WIDER CIRCULATION OF THE FORMULATION THAT BERLIN, ONCE KNOWN AS THE TOUCHSTONE (PRUEFSTEIN) OF DETENTE IS NOW BEING DISCUSSED IN TERMS THAT IT SHOULD NOT BECOME THE STUMBLING BLOCK (STOLPERSTEIN) OF FRG-SOVIET RELATIONS.

9. WITH RESPECT TO KEMNA'S THESIS THAT STOBBE'S ASSUMPTION OF THE BUNDESRAT PRESIDENCY AND/OR THE ELECTIONS TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT MAY NOW PASS OFF WITH NOTHING MORE THAN FORMAL SOVIET PROTESTS, SOVIET FIRST SECRETARY TYUTYUNOV TOLD US MAY 9 THAT SOVIETS DID NOT INTEND TO PROTEST MUCH IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE. HE MENTIONED SEVERAL CURRENT BERLIN MEETINGS THAT SOVIET EMBASSY HAD DECIDED TO LET PASS WITHOUT COMMENT. TYUTYUNOV REGARDED VISIT AS HISTORICALLY SIGNIFICANT. ON BERLIN ISSUES, HE WAS MOST INTERESTED IN THE VARIOUS GERMAN FORMULATIONS ABOUT THE STATUS OF BERLIN WHICH EMERGED DURING AND AFTER THE VISIT. TYUTYUNOV AGREED FULLY WITH MISSION INTERLOCUTOR THAT VISIT HIGHLIGHTED SOVIET DECISION TO GIVE FRG PRIORITY IN SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY; HE ADDED THAT THERE IS NO "JEALOUSY" IN GDR OVER VISIT AND SAID THAT NEXT STATE OF SOVIET GERMAN DEALINGS WOULD TAKE PLACE IN EAST BERLIN (WE TAKE THIS TO BE A REFERENCE TO A SCHMIDT-HONECKER VISIT RATHER THAN GROMYKO'S CURRENT VISIT TO EAST BERLIN.) TYUTYUNOV CHARACTERIZED BREZHNEV-SCHMIDT AND GENSCHER-GROMYKO TALKS AS IMPORTANT AND CLAIMED THAT "UNIMPORTANT" BREZHNEV-STRAUSS MEETING HAD BEEN ARRANGED AT INSISTENCE OF FRG GOVERNMENT WHICH DID NOT WANT TO PROVIDE OPPOSITION WITH ADDITIONAL FUEL FOR CRITICIZING VISIT. DAVIS

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**Type:** TE  
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